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level of general anxiety. It was usually the result of several days of rumor, omens, and strange fires in the north.

Late one night during Quain's stay, after most of the village had retired, a near panic occurred when two women shouted that the Suyá were attacking. All the initiated men, even the weak and old, rushed to the village center with their bows and arrows. The women and children from two of the four Trumaí houses hurried with their hammocks to the other two houses. The frightened men milled around in the center of the village with no apparent organization or direction. The chief, who was trembling, did not take command of the situation.

If this had been a real attack, noted Quain, the raiders would have given a loud yell and loosed a volley of arrows. He later made an investigation and found no signs of intruders. One of the women thought that someone had thrown dirt at her. Quain believed this to be a habit of the Suyá, but one that was usually a friendly overture.

The women feared other tribes more than did the men, for one of the main purposes of raids was to capture women. In every upper Xingú community women from other tribes are always found. The dispersal of women takes three forms: capture in warfare (by groups outside the area), open abduction of a woman by intimidation of her fellow-villagers, and peaceful intertribal marriage. According to de Lima, the Suyá raid the Waurá village on the Batoví River for female captives, as the women of the Arawakan tribes are the only potters of the region.[16] The Trumaí lost many young women to the Kamayurá by intimidation, the second of the above means. Most of the women in the Trumaí village were at one time held by the Kamayurá with the result that, in many Trumaí marriages, the woman is several years older than the man. At the time of Quain's visit, Trumaí women were still living among the Kamayurá and other groups. One of them, the sister of the Trumaí chief, ran away from the Kamayurá and returned home because her husband had beaten her, an action that angered the Trumaí greatly. There she picked up the threads of her old life, but after a few weeks a party of Kamayurá took her back to their village. The Trumaí offered no resistance, either physical or verbal, although they outnumbered the visitors, for to have done so would have invited retaliation.

The fact that the Trumaí had lost many women completely, or regained them only after their most fertile years had passed, was probably a contributing factor to the depopulation of the group. The losses were only partially compensated for by the marriage of outside women into the Trumaí village. There were three foreign women in the community in 1938: a Suyá, a Mehinaku, and a Kamayurá. Their status was lower than that of the Trumaí women, and they were at times taunted because of their foreign origin. They did not participate as fully in the

[16] De Lima 1950, p. 5.

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The plaza was the center of Trumaí social life. Here guests were entertained, ceremonials and wrestling matches were held, and the men gathered daily. Although the women might sit in front of their houses and watch these activities, they were not allowed to come near the log bench, even when the men were not there. The plaza of the Trumaí village was also used as the burying ground.

A short distance north of the circle of houses, on the path to the two main garden clearings of the Trumaí, was another smaller clearing used during the *ole*, or manioc, ceremonies. Other paths radiated outward from the village to the other gardens and to nearby groves of *piqui* trees. Quain noticed that the paths leading to the Kamayurá village were much broader and cleaner. The Kamayurá were proud of their paths and kept them in good condition. Their plaza was also clearer of weeds and trash than that of the Trumaí.

Of the four completed houses in the village, two were as large as those of the Kamayurá, but the other two, which were much smaller, were considered by Quain's informants to be genuinely Trumaí in type. Insofar as is known, the details of the construction and shape of all four were substantially the same. They had an elliptical floor plan and were haystack-shaped. Although the side walls were only four feet high, the roof attained a height of fifteen feet. The silhouette of the house was an almost smooth curve from ridge pole to ground. The frame was covered with a grass thatch. There were no windows, and a single entry opened on the plaza.

Each family occupied its own section of the house and had its own fireplace. Personal belongings hung from the walls and ceilings or were placed on small shelves. Hammocks were hung between the side wall posts and the two center posts, the woman's hammock beneath that of her husband. Except for two nuclear families that screened off their sections with blankets and cloth given them by Quain, there was no internal division of the house.

The two largest garden clearings were situated respectively about one mile northeast and one mile northwest of the village. Three small ones were located southeast of the settlement. In order of size, the gardens were named Naristan, Waniwanitan, Anariatan, Tan Toreake, and Tandatake. Naristan, the largest, contained, by Quain's rough calculation, approximately seven acres divided into ten plots, representing the gardens of seven men. One plot contained two acres, but the average garden varied between one-fourth and one acre in size. One of the men had erected a temporary thatch shelter in his plot, providing protection from the sun, but not from the rain. Inside there was only a basket of manioc flour, a rack for cooking fish, and a large shallow pot into which manioc was grated. This was the sole garden shelter Quain saw, and, significantly, it belonged to the most industrious horticulturist in the village.

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These were noisy affairs. The seller threw his merchandise on the ground and loosed an exultant shout. All the participants cried out in response. Occasionally the goods were offered in the hope of acquiring a desired article from a certain person, but usually they were put up for barter with the general public. In this case, whoever wanted the item went back to his house and brought an article to exchange. He placed this on the floor and picked up his purchase. Often the seller refused the proffered exchange and waited for a better offer. If the trade was consummated, another loud shout was given by the audience. These exchanges went on until the participants lost interest, or until no more goods were offered.

All exchanges were considered to be gift-giving. This was especially true of trade between fellow-Trumaí. When members of other groups were involved, trade was at least formally so considered, although the behavior and attitudes in gift-giving, proper, were quite different. When Quain made exchanges he was always admonished to tell his wife who the donor of the "gift" was.

Within the Trumaí village gift-giving and not trade was the usual form of property distribution, especially between kinsmen. A man might trade with a person whom he called mother's brother, or father's brother, or some other relationship term, but this was almost always a kin bond reckoned by extension, and not a close blood tie.

Women participated little in the men's trade games. In part this was due to the sexual dichotomy that operated in social participation generally, in part to the nature of the goods involved. A woman did not want to buy a man's fish hooks any more than he wanted her cotton. Occasionally a woman might break into the male trade game to buy a particular object, but once this was accomplished she would withdraw. A few women might sit around the house where the trade game was being held, especially if their husbands were participating. Occasionally the women held their own trade games in which cotton and household utensils were commonly bartered. Conventional shouts accompanied their activities, but they were less boisterous than those of the men.

The women were especially eager to trade with Quain, to get his cloth and colored thread in exchange for food, which normally was given away. The chief was also a main instigator of trade games with Quain. At times Quain refused to participate to the great annoyance of the would-be second party.

The trade game reflected the Trumaí attitude towards property, in that it provided more enjoyment and excitement than any other form of social participation, except intertribal festivities. Each exchange was watched with bated breath, and the outcome greeted with happy cries and laughter. There was some indication that the most dominant and forward personalities were also the most energetic traders. It was

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because she was his sister-in-law. Mayuva, however, was afraid of Nitvary, as the latter had close ties with the Kamayurá and had threatened Mayuva with witchcraft at their hands. After Nitvary returned from a trip to the Kamayurá village, Mayuva complained of severe headaches and said he was going to die. Although he denied to Quain that his condition was due to Kamayurá sorcery, the threats against him apparently had the desired result: a short time later Kuyafi moved into Nitvary's house. The union last only two days, for Nitvary's jealous wife drove her out in a fit of anger. The field, it would seem, was clear for Oirupa, the third suitor.

Oirupa, however, had been trying to marry Kuyafi for years. Her father, Matiwana, refused to give his consent and Oirupa, in revenge, was said to have killed two of Matiwana's children by witchcraft. Relations between their families were understandably strained, and they were further aggravated by the marriage of Matiwana's son Yati and Oirupa's sister Kerami, which occurred during Quain's stay. This union was unhappy and short-lived. When Kerami left him, Yati and his father held Oirupa and his co-resident affinals, Tun and Aloari, responsible. Yati bitterly asserted that he (and Matiwana) would go to live among his mother's people, the Kuikuru of the upper Kuluene. There, he said, women were much easier to get.

With this background of conflict and suspicion, it is not surprising that the quarrel again broke out in earnest when Oirupa tried to seduce Kuyafi. Angered by her rejection he threw *piqui* pits at her. In the afternoon Matiwana spoke out against Oirupa from his house. (This was proper behavior, since a parent is expected to take his offspring's part in such disputes.) That evening the two men indulged in the usual loud shouting and wrestled with barely restrained hostility. Kuyafi added her bit from the house as did another of Matiwana's daughters. The other men pretended indifference. Yati remained silent, although he was vitally interested in the dispute; for, besides being Matiwana's son, he was involved in an enduring respect relationship with his former brother-in-law, even after his marriage was dissolved. Public opinion, however, was on the side of Matiwana, for Oirupa had committed an offense by hitting Kuyafi with the pits, and he had also threatened to use witchcraft. To this last Matiwana tauntingly replied that had Oirupa's witchcraft been really effective, he would have been dead long ago. As of the time Quain left the Trumaí, Kuyafi's future was still undecided.

The Men's Circle

The men's circle served a number of functions. It was the place in which initiated males gathered, talked, argued, and smoked. It was not taboo to young boys, as it was to women, but youngsters rarely joined the group, and they never participated in any of its activities.

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the group, and they never participated in any of its activities. Occasionally men gathered in the village center during the day, but at night the circle always formed, generally lasting from sundown until about nine o'clock. In the afternoon it was often the scene of wrestling matches. Talk usually went on then also, but the gatherings were smaller than at night.

At night most of the men were present, and conversation ranged over a variety of topics. Of greatest interest were neighboring tribes, past warfare and present threats to peace. Gossip, usually about sex, found ready ears. This was the time when the chief made most of his speeches, and the time when plans for a fishing trip, for salt manufacture, or for a journey to the Waurá for pots were discussed. The men's circle was also the place where the shaman practiced his art, and, as noted above, where grievances were aired.

The social life of the males was centered almost completely in these gatherings, and it was in them that the mechanisms of village authority and social control were expressed. Also, the men's circle underlined the cleavage between the activities of the men and of the women. The women had no formal grouping such as the men's circle, but they showed solidarity when the need arose. While men were dominant, as Quain said, they "look on the women as an ungoverned force," and open group quarrels were not infrequent between the sexes.

Status

Aek, the Trumai word for chief, also denoted membership in the upper half of what is nominally a *status* class. Members of the lower half of this class were loosely referred to as *camaru*, a term which, according to Galvão, probably diffused into the region from rural Brazil, where workers are called *camaradas*.[39] There was some uncertainty on the part of Quain's informants as to who were members of the *aek* division. In general, it included the chief, the two sub-chiefs, and their families. But while the status appears to have been hereditary, its transmission was loose and uncertain. For instance, Maibu was an *aek*, but he refused to classify his brothers as such. However, the fathers of both Maibu and Katauka, one of the sub-chiefs, were *aek*. Matiwana's three daughters and his son derived their status from him, further supporting the case for patrilineality. On the other hand, the children of one of the daughters were *aek*, even though their father was a *camaru*. The significance of being *aek* had probably declined with the weakening of leadership patterns and the lessened importance of the sub-chiefs. Today, the *aek-camaru* division is non-functional, membership is confused, and, except for the chieftainship, it is correlated only vaguely

[39] Galvão 1949, p. 69.

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of specialist among the Trumaí that is not reported for the Kamayurá, and it is to this type that the term "shaman" is applied in the following description. The Trumaí "shaman," in this sense, is a man who possessed extra-visionary powers through which he could locate enemy war parties and "see" the afterworld.

The source of the visionary shaman's and also the curing shaman's power is revealed nowhere in Quains' notes, nor do we have any information on other aspects of the associated belief system. Oberg's Kamayurá informants told him that personal spirits are acquired during illness, and it is contact with one's spirit which gives the power.[3] This may well be true in Trumaí culture also, but the very fact that Quain did not perceive this, even granting the language barrier, might indicate a decline in the strength of animistic belief.

"Seeing," as Quain translates Trumaí shamanism, took place only at night. (Quain was told that if a shaman inhaled large quantities of tobacco smoke during the day, his temples would pound.) Since one of the main purposes of shamanism was to detect enemies and the fear of attack was greatest at night, it was then that knowledge was felt to be most necessary. Shamanism, it should be stressed, revolved around one of the central themes in Trumaí life, fear of other tribes; the pronouncements of the shaman were almost always that enemies were near and that danger was acute. These were generally believed without question by his audience.

The procedure was simple. When the talk in the men's circle stressed the possibility of a raid, the shaman was called upon to "see." A hushed silence fell over the group. Even Quain was asked to stop speaking and using his typewriter. The shaman turned his back on the assembly, inhaled large amounts of tobacco smoke, his only paraphernalia, and seemed to concentrate deeply. Quain could detect no traces of tobacco narcosis, but it was possible that a mild reaction was produced. After a few minutes of intense concentration, the shaman faced about and announced the results of his activity. This was usually to the effect that he had seen Suyá, or, less often, Bororo, Yuruna, or a tribe of the immediate region. A Trumaí shaman could also find lost articles, but this was secondary to "seeing" the enemy. One shaman claimed to have seen the land of the dead, but there was no suggestion that he had communicated with the deceased.

Only certain older men were visionary shamans. There is no evidence that women were admitted to the practice anywhere in the region. Inheritance of shamanistic power was nominally patrilineal. In 1938 there were three shamans: Yakuma, the chief's oldest biological brother, Aloari's brother Tun, and Matiwana. Tun was the most active practitioner, while Yakuma seldom "saw." Maibu said that the latter was

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

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clouds of tobacco smoke were first blown over the affected area by the curer who then, with noisy inhalations, sucked that part of the body in which the ailment appeared to be localized. Insofar as Quain was able to determine, no foreign objects were "extracted," and he was not given any explanation as to why the treatment worked.

Knowledge of curing was widespread among the men. All the men knew how to use botanicals, and over half, all said to have been taught by Matiwana, knew the art of *jau'kath*. Men cured their wives, children, or other close blood relatives. When Aloari was treating his son's ringworm he was asked by Quain whether he would also treat a young boy who was only indirectly related. Aloari refused because the boy had closer kinsmen who could perform this act. Kayaru developed a swollen breast, and it was Yanahi, her sister's son, who performed *jau'kath* on it. All men treated the members of their biological families with medicines, but those who did not know the shamanistic cure relied on a practitioner from outside the immediate family.

Matiwana treated his son Yati without recompense, but when his daughter's husband became ill, the latter paid him for the cure with a pot. The kinship ties by which curing was free to certain relatives probably corresponded closely to the pattern of gift-giving obligations. Payments for medical treatment were called *okei pop* (medicine gift). Quain was usually given small payments for the many cures he performed for the Trumaí. In no case could it be said that any curer derived a significant income from his services.

Group Curing Ceremony

The only time that Quain witnessed the group curing ceremony (*kevere*) was on an occasion two weeks after his arrival. He noted the formal aspects carefully, but he was unable to ascertain their meanings, since his command of the language at that time was so meagre.

Maibu's wife, Matavitsa, was sick and wasted when Quain arrived in the village. Her husband had been treating her for some time by the shamanistic means of tobacco smoke and sucking, but with little success. It was decided to hold a ceremonial cure, although shamanistic techniques were not ruled out. Nearly all the adult men of the village gathered in Maibu's house for the ritual, which lasted for three hours. No women were admitted, and the door was kept closed. The *kevere* was strictly prohibited to females, and the men would not even talk of it in their presence. The women seemed to regard Quain's status as doubtful, for Maibu's sister told him that he would die if he entered. He refused to be dissuaded, and upon entering was motioned to a seat.

The men were ranged in a broad semi-circle along the side of the house opposite the sick woman's hammock. Matiwana, who was in charge of

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526 would be terminated by mutual consent and without the need for either contestant to concede defeat.[5] The wrestlers were often pushed around [152] considerably, but except for grunts of effort, there were no expressions of pain or anger. However, when Quain tried to teach the Trumaí men to box, even the lightest punch caused them to retire. They claimed that the *karahiba* sport was much too rough.

562 Trumaí women do not "know how" to wrestle, but the Kamayurá 526 women wrestled to entertain guests. It was common opinion in the region 186 that Trumaí women did not compare favorably with Kamayurá women. 648 Even the Trumaí men agreed on this point. After a visit to the Kama- yurá village, the precocious young Yanahi was vociferous in his approval 171 of them. His admiration was due chiefly to the *jamyrikuma*, a Kamayurá female song and dance in which the women flapped their breasts and went through other provocative motions. He also described how they had pushed their twine belts down low on their buttocks, which to him was a very suggestive act. After the dance the women wrestled. Jakwalu, a Mehinaku, was the only woman in the Trumaí village who could wrestle, a fact that suggests that the females of this group also practiced the sport. She demonstrated her ability only on intertribal visits.

574 The Trumaí women did not entertain guests, except insofar as visitors 535 forced their attentions on the unmarried ones. The only occasions on which they were known to sing and dance were at certain ceremonies when they served as a chorus to the men.

533 Except for the use of pan-pipes, which the men played in the morning, [534] all music was connected with religious ceremonial. The pan-pipes con- [196] sisted of a half-dozen hollow reeds of different lengths laced together. Ceremonial singing was melodious, and the Trumaí enjoyed singing. They frequently requested Quain to sing in the men's circle. The requests were always phrased on behalf of the women and children. [123] Visits from members of other tribes always called for a performance by the ethnographer.

522 Humor consisted mostly of practical jokes played at the expense of 571 others. Jokes were always perpetrated by the men; the women served occasionally as butts. This does not mean that the men were gayer or more light-hearted than the women, for the contrary was actually the case. The women enjoyed each other's company more. They gossiped and laughed together, worked together, and generally wore a pleasanter expression. For the men, jokes were important as a means of recognition and assertion. They were always performed for an audience.

Teasing the women was also a popular male diversion. This was often done by ignoring them completely during a conversation. Yati was a

[5] This may be true only of bouts between Trumaí, as Oberg (1953, p. 89) notes that a man is defeated when he is thrown on his back.

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Yanahi was less inhibited than any of the other men, but his behavior was not considered shocking or immoral. Quain had apparently arrived at the village just at the time that Yanahi was on the threshold of sexual experience. He appeared in Quain's house one night to show that he had an erection and announced that he would soon be having coitus. Thereafter, he rarely failed to tell Quain of his exploits. One night quite a crowd, including Yanahi and one of his paramours, Vatsiat, was gathered in Quain's house. The young man suddenly developed a longing for her and, as soon as all the visitors had left, satisfied his craving noisily amidst Quain's pots and pans. He was proud of his virility, as were most of the Trumaí men.

No discredit attached to the male involved in a love affair and very little to the woman. Oirupa merely scolded his sister for having copulated with Yanahi. Only where adultery was involved did promiscuity lower the status of a woman. Chastity before marriage was not expected, and there was not a single virgin in the village over the age of puberty. Older women without husbands or close relatives to protect them were often used for sexual purposes against their will. This was especially the case with unmarried foreign women. Some of them complained that they had to dispense their favors to too many men too often.

This aggressiveness and the danger of bride-capture made the women extremely fearful of being raped, and, as noted above, they were uneasy even when the threats were made in fun. One morning Quain decided to get rid of his numerous female visitors by employing this device. They all fled except one, who, despite her seeming courage, looked worried. Without doubt, the women enjoyed visiting Quain, but a man told him that if he were to have intercourse with any one of them, they would all fear him. Over and above this fear of rape, there was a definite hostility between the sexes, which was usually well controlled, but which on occasion might explode in open quarrels between the men and the women.

No cumbersome taboos surrounded physiological functions. Belching and the release of flatus were common in company, but generally disregarded. However, if an unusually unpleasant odor followed, those nearby spat on the ground as a mark of disgust. The men urinated near their houses or at the edge of the village plaza. The women went to the edge of the village clearing or behind the houses. Both sexes went a short distance into the brush to defecate, but at night elimination was permitted in the village plaza if a hole was first dug for this purpose and covered over.

There was no salacious attitude toward body processes. The Trumaí were puzzled by Quain's desire for privacy in his personal habits and his curiosity about other people's. One woman seriously asked if she could watch him eliminate.